

The AMERICAN OBSERVER

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe



VOLUME IV, NUMBER 16

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DECEMBER 17, 1934

Nation-Wide Drive on Crime Launched

Washington Conference Sets Goals in New Attack Against Widespread Lawlessness

ECONOMIC FACTORS IMPORTANT

But Whole Law-Enforcement System Held to Need Drastic Revisions

One of the most significant conferences in recent years took place in Washington last week. It was the national conference on crime called by Attorney General Homer S. Cummings in which public officials from all states of the Union, as well as the nation's leading experts on the subject of crime, participated. At the opening session, President Roosevelt delivered an address in which he made a strong appeal to every man, woman and child in the country to bestir himself in a great and united battle to stamp out the widespread crime which has given us the reputation of being the most lawless nation on earth. The attorney general urged the members of the conference to satisfy themselves with nothing less than a series of specific resolutions designed to attack the problem at its very roots. Former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, for years an authority on the subject by virtue of his practical experience in dealing with crime, minced no words in calling upon the conference to do something more than express pious hopes that crime may be wiped out. Perhaps never before in our history has such a nation-wide attempt to deal effective blows at the crime problem been made as was undertaken last week.

American Crime Record

And, it is high time that something be done to cope with this, one of our most pressing national problems. In the United States 10 people out of every 100,000 of the population meet their death by crime. The American homicide rate is 20 times that of the British. It is more than twice that of Greece, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, France, Norway, Sweden, Spain and the Netherlands. But there is little necessity to dwell upon the extent of crime in the United States. That fact is forcibly brought home to every American citizen every day of the year by the shocking number of crimes committed. What we are more interested in and what the crime conference was more interested in are the causes of this unfortunate situation, for only by understanding the causes thoroughly will it be possible to effect the remedies which are so essential.

It is no easy matter to place one's finger on all the causes of crime in the United States. Experts themselves do not agree entirely as to the concrete reasons why crime is so much more prevalent here than elsewhere. But, as to certain of the fundamental causes, they are fairly unanimous. They agree, for example, that the whole American system of law administration and enforcement is sadly at fault and needs overhauling. This fact was repeatedly emphasized at the conference, and it is recognized that, until something is done to correct this defect, we shall never reach the goal of ridding the country of crime. Many students of the crime problem believe, however, that the causes are more deep-seated

(Concluded on page 6)



CHRISTMAS EVE

From an etching by Robert Lawson, courtesy Kennedy and Company.

The Meaning of Christmas

(Reprinted by request from THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, December 16, 1931)

In looking back across the ages for the origin of our Christmas festival, we are lost in the confusion and disorganization of the early Christian centuries. It appears that no fixed date was established as the day of Jesus' birth for many generations after the beginning of the Christian era. For a long time January 6 was celebrated in Jerusalem as the birthday of Jesus, but since about 450 A. D. December 25 has been the recognized date. It is possible that our Christmas Day, under another name, had earlier origins. December 25, as the first day of the year, was a pagan festival in Britain before the conversion of the island to Christianity, though the nature of the ceremonies incident to the occasion is no longer held in racial memory. The pre-Christian festivities were so definitely associated with December 25, however, that in 1644 the Puritans, by the act of Parliament, forbade merrymaking on Christmas on the ground that the custom was pagan. The day was to be kept as a religious fast, and so it is observed today in many parts of the Christian world. But in all the Teutonic countries it is a day to be merry and to give gifts. Thus it has been celebrated, year after year and century after century, in a spirit of gladness and good will.

And now the Christmas spirit casts its spell again upon us. It brightens the streets. It puts lights in the windows. It brings new life to the market places. It touches with romance days that normally are a little dull. It fires the children with excitement and turns the faces of the grown-ups toward their childish past. It revives the customs of other days, and restores to all of us for a while the fantasies of a fairyland from which we have been banished during all these sober years. It carries us in spirit to realms far less drab than the workaday world in which we have lived. We are refreshed by the hurry and bustle and color of the holiday season. We are enabled to go back to our work with renewed energy and with broadened outlook. But the Yuletide spirit means more than a coloring of life. It is more than a resurging of youth. The season loses much of its promise if the bestowal of gifts, the reunion of friends and the exchange of greetings are not indeed the manifestations of sincere friendliness and ever-widening sympathies. The generous impulses so necessary to individual and social happiness may well be stimulated by this Christmas festival which, whatever its origins, we now celebrate in the name of One who lived and died that good will might abide in the hearts of men and that peace might reign among the peoples of the earth.

Vital Issue Raised by Naval Discussion

Difference Between War and Peace May Hinge Upon Outcome of London Conversations

DANGERS OF NAVAL RACE SEEN

Whole System of Maintaining Peace by Collective Action at Stake

A decision of far-reaching importance must be made shortly by the American government. This decision may determine our foreign policy in large part for years to come. It may, in the long run, turn out to be a decision as to whether we shall go to war or remain at peace. It is doubtful whether we have made a decision of equal importance since we, as a people, chose not to enter the League of Nations. This decision which we must make relates to our naval program and our policy in the Far East. Here are the facts in the light of which we are obliged to take some action:

The three great naval powers, the United States, Great Britain and Japan, are unable to come to terms concerning the limitation of naval armaments. In 1922, it was agreed that the United States and Great Britain should have navies of equal size, and that the Japanese navy might be three-fifths as large as that of either of the other nations. The ratio, therefore, was 5:5:3. This ratio was modified somewhat to the advantage of Japan in the London Naval Conference of 1930. The agreement of 1930 expires in 1936, and representatives of the three nations have been in session in London for many weeks, trying to agree as to the future size of their navies.

Naval Race Threat

The Japanese say that they must have the right to build a navy as large as that of Great Britain or the United States. In other words, they insist upon parity, or equality. If the United States and Great Britain do not agree to this, the Japanese say that they will feel free to go ahead building as rapidly as they see fit. They will not promise to limit their armaments on any other terms than that of equality. The United States and Great Britain have not consented to equality. Apparently they will not consent. They will not agree to limit the size of their navies, except on condition that their navies may be larger than that of Japan. Unless there is a surrender or compromise somewhere, it appears likely, therefore, that the limitation agreements already made will be brushed aside and that the nations will engage in a naval armament race.

Under the circumstances, what should be the attitude of our government? Should we agree that Japan may have a navy as large as ours and then work for a limitation of the size of both navies? The result then would be that each nation would have a small and relatively inexpensive navy, but that the navies would be of equal size. Or, on the other hand, should we insist that our navy should be larger than that of Japan? And if Japan undertakes to catch up with us, should we undertake to outbuild her?

Before we answer the question as to
(Continued on page 7)

Notes From the News

Prosperity and Income Distribution; T. R.'s Son Calls for Liberal G. O. P.; War on Narcotics Rings; Number of Millionaires Doubles

MORDECAI EZEKIEL, economic adviser to the secretary of agriculture, stirred up a great deal of discussion some time ago by making the statement that a family income of \$2,500 is necessary for comfortable living in the United States. He has followed his statement with an analysis of living conditions, which appears in the *New York Times*. Using figures prepared by the Brookings Institution and published in the two volumes, "America's Capacity to Produce" and "America's Capacity to Consume," he gives a striking picture of the way American families live. There are approximately 22,000,000 families living in cities and towns—families not engaged in agriculture. About one-third of these receive less than \$1,500 a year. They are on the poverty line, says Mr. Ezekiel. They have



© U. & U.
MORDECAI
EZEKIEL

bare subsistence. They have little for education, amusement, or care of health, and nothing for savings. That is the situation, let it be understood, not during this time of depression, but so it was in 1929 when the country was said to be prosperous. A third of the non-agricultural families at that time were undernourished, living in actual anxiety or distress.

Another third of the city families in 1929 received between \$1,500 and \$2,500. They were on what Mr. Ezekiel calls the minimum comfort level. An equal number received \$2,500 or more. They could take care of themselves fairly well and enjoy some of the luxuries as well as comforts.

If all the families received as much as \$2,500 and if they all spent their incomes as those who have \$2,500 now do, the poorest third of them would have spent 10 times as much for education as they now spend, five times as much for autos and three times as much for medical care. The poorest group now spend but \$20 a month per family for rent. If they received \$2,500 a year they would spend \$65 a month. They would spend 75 per cent more than they now do for food, most of the increase being for milk and vegetables.

If all the families were buying as much as the third, who in 1929 were well off, were buying, then there would be a demand for all that could be produced. More would have to be produced, as a matter of fact, than was being produced in 1929. Industry would have to hum in order to supply the demand, and there would be no periods of let-down.

Perhaps we must add to the consuming power of all the people before we can have a stable society—before we can avoid dangerous depressions and keep our economic machine going. But how can we thus increase the incomes and hence the purchases of the lower two-thirds? That is something upon which there is no agreement. Higher wages might help, if they could be maintained. A system of profit-sharing might insure the desired result. Social insurance and old-age pensions might help. All these and others, working together, might bring about a higher standard of living than Americans have ever known and a more secure society. These are some of the problems to which true statesmen and intelligent citizens must give thoughtful attention if the problem is to be solved. It is an encouraging sign that we find not only government officials, like Mr. Ezekiel, giving se-

rious thought to this problem, but also that an increasing number of private organizations are seeking a solution.

Federal Agents Smash Powerful Narcotics Rings

A dramatic and sensational nation-wide drive was launched against narcotics dealers and peddlers last week by agents of the Federal Narcotics Bureau. After much advance planning, these agents, scattered in cities throughout the country, struck a simultaneous blow at dealers in narcotics. They captured 765 persons the first two days of their roundup, breaking up a number of powerful narcotics rings. They were surprised to learn that, not only is the illicit trade in narcotics carried on in large cities, but also in small communities.

Although the traffic in narcotics is largely a matter to be dealt with by federal agents (since nearly all our narcotics come from abroad and therefore only federal agents are in a position to track down international rings), local officials must play an important role in the attempt to stamp out the sordid traffic. Local courts have been too lenient on dope peddlers. In many instances, they have merely imposed short sentences or small fines on the offenders.

New York Adopts Sales Tax to Finance Relief

In order to help meet its huge relief expenses, New York City is experimenting with a sales tax of two cents on the dollar. This applies to nearly all purchases except newspapers, medicines sold on prescription of a doctor, and certain kinds of food.

The usual attacks are being launched against this kind of tax. It is argued that it does not take into account the individual's capacity to pay. Purchasers with small incomes are charged the same rate as those with high incomes. Many of the critics of the sales tax are willing to put up with it for a short emergency period, but they make it clear that they will wage a relentless fight against making such a tax permanent. Store owners, on the other hand, are fighting it on the ground that they will have to bear the brunt of the tax, because if they charge consumers the entire tax the consumers will cut down on their purchases.

The city administration, however, feels that a tax which amounts only to 20 cents on every \$10.00 of purchases, is not going to be an unbearable burden on anyone. It has assured the people that the tax will be only for an emergency period.

Republicans Split Over Party Reorganization

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt of New York, son of former President Theodore

Roosevelt, has joined Senator Borah in demanding a reorganization of the Republican party leadership along more progressive lines. Colonel Roosevelt argues that the severe defeats suffered in 1932 and 1934 resulted from the fact that the party is too conservative. If it is not to go completely on the rocks, he believes, it must be liberalized.

It is an interesting fact that neither Senator Borah nor Colonel Roosevelt outlined a clear-cut policy. They called for a new leadership, without pointing to the direction toward which the leadership should go. Senator Couzens of Michigan, who is generally classed among the progressive Republicans, condemned Senator Borah severely for his lack of a program. He went so far as to declare that Borah seldom contributes anything but words to any cause. Borah has been similarly chided by others.

It is apparent that Senator Borah and Colonel Roosevelt are not speaking for the main body of progressive Republicans. Men like Senators Norris and Cutting and Nye are holding aloof. These men are giving a qualified endorsement to the Roosevelt New Deal. They have not by any means joined the Democratic party. Neither are they going along with the Borah demand for reorganization. As a matter of fact, most of them feel that Borah is not really a progressive.

The conservative Republicans realize, of course, that they have been whipped and that the party is in a bad way. They look, however, for a swing of the pendulum which will carry the people of the nation back toward conservatism. Since the chief support of the Republican party has always come from business men, and since the business interests are mainly conservative, it will be very hard, if not impossible, to carry the Republican party away from its conservative moorings.

The present indications are that progressive Republicans will either join the Roosevelt New Deal—at least temporarily—or else that they will fall in with a liberal party such as that represented by the La Follette Progressive party of Wisconsin or the Farmer Labor party of Minnesota. That seems more probable than that they will capture the Republican party and make of it a progressive or liberal organization.

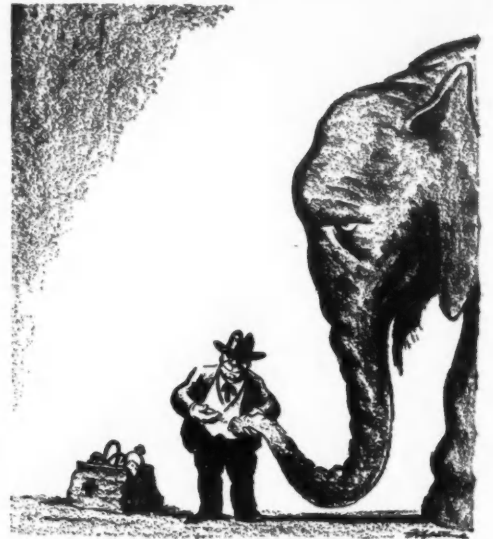
Disparity of Incomes Increased Last Year

The number of Americans receiving incomes of \$1,000,000 or more increased from 20 in 1932 to 46 in 1933, according to the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The total incomes of these 46 individuals amounted to \$81,558,532 in 1933 as compared with \$35,239,556 in 1932.

Another interesting fact brought out by the bureau is that the incomes of those receiving under \$25,000 in 1933 dropped below the 1932 level, while the total net income of those receiving \$25,000 or more increased.

Thus it is to be seen that the Roosevelt administration, up to the end of 1933, had not yet achieved a wider distribution of income—one of its major goals. In fact the disparity of income was even greater at the end of last year than it was before the New Deal measures were put into effect. However, defenders of the administration's policies contend that wealthier groups are always the first to benefit by better

The Senate arms investigation has been resumed after a few weeks' intermission. The Senate investigators infer that the most startling facts are yet to be revealed. Shortly after the investigation reconvened arms manufacturers admitted they have known for 10 years that Germany and Austria were rearming in violation of the Versailles Treaty. Armaments firms in certain countries have not hesitated to help Germany increase her arms.



DR. BORAH TO THE RESCUE
—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Governmental Record

The President: Announced his intention of recommending to Congress an exemption for small cotton farmers from the Bankhead Act, which controls the production of cotton and apportions percentages of total production. The recommendation is, of course, contingent upon the farmers' voting to continue the act for another year.

Civil Service Commission: Issued a report showing 680,181 employees in the executive branches of the federal government at the end of October, 1934. Since the first of the year the government has added 88,000. The October total is still a quarter of a million below the war level, but is far larger than it has been at any time since then.

Department of State: Accepted the invitation of the League of Nations to send a delegate to the Supervisory Commission that is to superintend the Chaco negotiations. The commission will be appointed only if both Bolivia and Paraguay accept the League peace plan.

Navy Department: Admiral William H. Standley, chief of naval operations, reported to Secretary Swanson that the navy was undermanned and would require an increase of about 6,000 men if it was to be operated efficiently.

Food and Drug Administration: Gave notice that it would renew its fight for authority to regulate interstate traffic in advertised medicines. The commission's attempts to have Congress pass such legislation at its last session failed, according to Chief Administrator W. E. Campbell, largely because of the pressure brought to bear upon Congress by the proprietary medicine industry and by certain advertising agencies.

Soil Erosion Service: Reported that erosion control was "by far the most pressing important undertaking standing out ahead" of the nation, since it was causing the United States an annual loss of \$400,000.

Subsistence Homestead Division: Of the hundreds of housing projects proposed by private enterprises up to June 30, the division reports that 601 are "in some degree worthy." The loans sought by these projects amount to \$500,000,000, but at present only \$25,000,000 is available for homestead loans. The division plans to undertake a national survey with a view to organizing its own projects in the future. The administration may tie up the subsistence homestead scheme with its general program of relief and recovery, since, by providing opportunities for part-time labor and encouraging handicrafts, it relieves the unemployment problem.

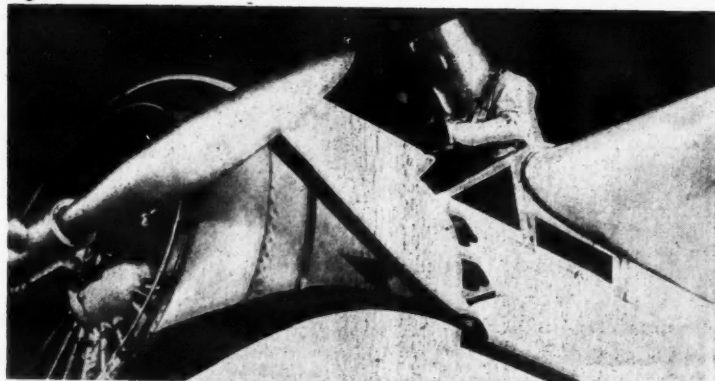
National Industrial Recovery Administration: Is undertaking "laboratory tests" to determine how various provisions of industrial codes are working out in practice. The object is to make codes as practicable as possible. Impractical provisions will be eliminated, and new hearings will take place whenever important changes are proposed.

Federal Emergency Relief Administration: Officials of the FERA agreed that many farmers who were well able to live on their own incomes were receiving relief. Regulations require that each farmer requesting relief must fill out detailed reports as to his assets, and that each request be followed by a careful inquiry by a relief worker. Evasions occur through inexperience or overburdening of relief workers, and through political influence.

Civilian Conservation Corps: Robert Fechner, director of emergency conservation work, reports that 58,000 young men dropped out to take jobs during the first year of the C.C.C., while 53,000 more accepted outside employment between April and September, 1934. Mr. Fechner informed the president that there is enough work to occupy double the number of men now employed in C.C.C. camps.



© Acme
MAYOR
LA GUARDIA



WILEY POST JUMPS UP TO THE STRATOSPHERE

The noted flier claims to have attained an altitude of 48,000 feet in a flight recently made.

AROUND THE WORLD

Geneva: The Council of the League was like a safety valve in the recent Hungarian-Yugoslav dispute. Observers watched Geneva anxiously to see if foreign ministers would release steam or let the boiler burst. Thanks largely to Captain Anthony Eden of Great Britain and Pierre Laval of France, a compromise solution was reached, but not before a dozen or more hot speeches had been fired over the Council table.

The root of the quarrel was the Yugoslav contention that Hungarian authorities had abetted the assassination of King Alexander by knowingly allowing Croat terrorist plots to hatch on Hungarian soil. Tidor Eckhardt, Hungarian delegate to the Council, denied that Hungarian authorities had anything to do with the Marseilles affair. Then he proceeded to complicate the matter by introducing the Hungarian request for revision of the peace treaties. Hungary feels that a large part of the territory handed over to the new Balkan countries should rightfully be hers.

Yugoslavia's accusation was warmly supported in a series of explosive speeches by Czech, Turkish and Rumanian foreign ministers; while Hungary and revisionism was backed by Italy. France and Russia favored the Yugoslav cause, but Great Britain refused to take sides in the quarrel.

On December 10, after an all-night Council session, Eden of Britain and Laval of France brought out a compromise solution—a solution so carefully worded that everyone, even the contending parties, was able to assent to it within a few hours. The resolution deplored the Marseilles crime, indicated that it was the duty of states not to tolerate terrorist activity in their territories, and delicately reproved Hungary in these words: "... certain Hungarian authorities may have assumed, at any rate through negligence, certain responsibilities relative to acts having connection with the preparation of the Marseilles crime." It was considered to be the responsibility of Hungary to take punitive action on any such guilty officials, and she was requested to report to the Council whatever measures she might take.

Since international law on the subject of political terrorism is very incomplete and inadequate, the Council's resolution further provided that an international legislative committee be appointed with a view to drawing up an international convention aimed at the repression of terrorist activity.

The Council's triumph in peacefully settling the Balkan-Hungarian dispute can scarcely be overestimated. The assassination was the most serious political crime since the Sarajevo crisis of 1914. Many feel that if the League of Nations had not existed, Hungary and the Balkans and perhaps the rest of Europe would be in the throes of another world war by now. The quick acceptance of the Laval-Eden solution seems to indicate that the powers do not want war and would go to considerable trouble to avoid it. In order to accept the resolution, both Hungary and Italy had to back down to some extent, and their hopes for revisionism must be postponed to an indefinite future.

While Balkan and Hungarian tempers were rising, Foreign Ministers Laval of France and Litvinoff of the U. S. S. R. signed a diplomatic pact. Both countries

agreed not to undertake negotiations that might hinder the proposed Eastern Locarno agreement. They reemphasized the point that no international guarantee of present east European boundaries could be effective without German support. Great Britain heartily approves the new Franco-Soviet pact. It is possible that she regards it as an inducement for Germany to rejoin the League of Nations, since she can no longer hope to drive a wedge between France and Russia. But Germany is equally anxious to prevent a Franco-Italian rapprochement. Laval had high hopes of an agreement with Mussolini, but Italian support of Hungary and revisionism are obstacles to the French. France will not countenance a change in the peace treaties or a reversion of Yugoslav land to Hungary.

* * *

Hungary: A threat of war hovered over the Hungarian border following Yugoslavia's expulsion of non-naturalized Hungarians. Nearly 3,000 refugees, hustled from their homes by Yugoslav police, tramped into Szeged and other frontier towns, happy to accept whatever shelter was offered to them. Passions on both sides of the line are running high. Armed guards face one another across frontier brooks and occasional clashes are reported. Hungarian peasants aver that armed bands of Serbian blackshirts have invaded Hungary at night, only to be driven back by angry farmers wielding hay forks and scythes. The Hungarian government has ordered newspapers to avoid exciting popular temper as far as possible, but local Red Cross units have asked the International Red Cross to investigate conditions among the refugees and report upon the ousting of men and women too ill to travel.

It is hardly surprising that the Yugoslavs drove out unnaturalized Hungarians with so little notice. Ever since the assassination of King Alexander, Yugoslav newspapers have inflamed popular opinion against Hungary, accusing her of harboring terrorists and of plotting to regain lost lands at Yugoslavia's expense. The order to deport alien Hungarians was aimed at Hungary's plea for a revision of the peace treaties. Yugoslavia does not want to give the Hungarians a chance to claim her land because of the nationality of the inhabitants. She admits that her local officials were overzealous in expelling the first 3,000 and promises to be more gentle in sending out the 24,000 Hungarians that remain.

* * *

Germany: In his book, "My Battle," Adolf Hitler relates how in 1919 he attended a mass meeting in Munich and

heard there a speech by Gottfried Feder. Hitler concedes that Feder's remarks shed new light for him on the slowly developing idea of National Socialism and writes that the "lecture gave me a splendid war cry for the coming struggle." Shortly after Hitler joined the German Workers' party, of which Herr Feder was one of the founders and which was the forerunner of the National Socialist German Workers' party, in other words, the Nazis. Feder was the chief economist of the new party. It was he who in February, 1920, wrote the 25-point "program for the ages." This famous document demanded such radical reforms as the "abolition of all income acquired without work or trouble," the "nationalization of trusts," the "distribution of the profits of large industries," and the expropriation of land "without compensation" for "common purposes."

When Hitler eventually became chancellor, Feder was named to two important, if secondary, posts in the government. But now, like others who rose with Hitler, he has been placed "temporarily" on the retirement list. The Nazi leader has seen fit to discard the one man who was chiefly responsible for his conversion to National Socialism.

No official reason has been given for this significant action, but it is clear that Feder's radical ideas (the ideas which led millions of discouraged Germans to follow Hitler) have been completely suppressed by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, minister of economics and president of the Reichsbank. Dr. Schacht, a staunch capitalist and a man of great ambition, threw his support to Hitler several years before the latter came into power. It was he who gained financial assistance for the Nazis from many industrial leaders, and it is he, more than anyone else, who has been responsible for Hitler's conservatism. Naturally Dr. Schacht and Herr Feder clashed. Feder pleaded incessantly for nationalization of banking. But Schacht was opposed to this, and a cabinet meeting a few days ago decided the issue in Schacht's favor. It was shortly after this meeting that Feder was dropped.

The meaning of Hitler's repudiation of his former teacher and adviser is obvious. The chancellor is still steering to the right. Dr. Schacht, who has the confidence of the Junkers (land barons) and industrialists, continues to dominate Nazi economic policy. Some people have argued that eventually Hitler would be forced to become more radical to satisfy the masses. But apparently he is not yet prepared for any drastic swing away from the large business interests. There may, however, be a note of warning in the word "temporarily" contained in the announcement of Herr Feder's retirement. It may be

that Hitler is serving notice on Dr. Schacht that if conditions do not improve in Germany the Nazis may be ready for new experiments.

In recent months there has been a back-to-the-land movement in Germany. In order to provide food and shelter for retired Storm Troopers and their families, the Nazi government has sponsored the establishment of nearly 4,000 colonies or "sied-



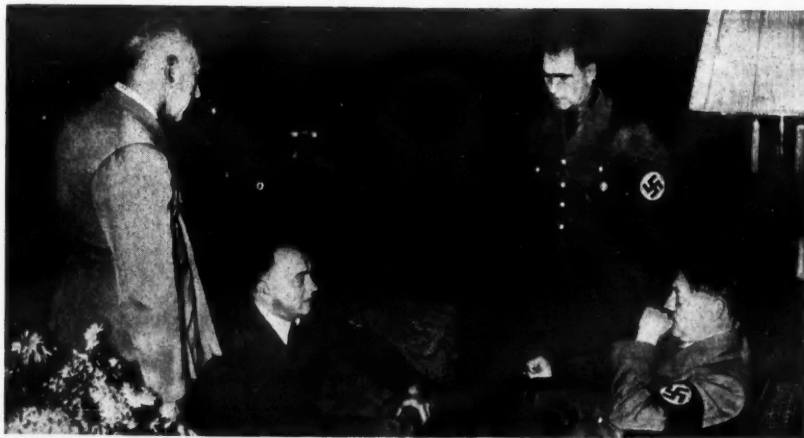
—Carmack in CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

lungen." Each family is given a homestead of its own together with a plot of ground on which all necessary fruits and vegetables may be grown. In many respects the siedlungen scheme is like the subsistence homestead projects that have arisen in various parts of the United States.

* * *

Saar: Soon after Germany agreed to pay France \$50,000,000 for the Saar coal mines, a second event occurred which makes a peaceful plebiscite almost certain. When France made known her determination to send troops into the Saar region to enforce the peace, Germany was incensed. France undoubtedly had a direct interest in the outcome of the January 13 vote. Berlin newspapers accused France of invading land beyond her borders. France replied that she wanted nothing but full freedom of voting and averred that she would be acting under the League agreements of 1925 and 1926. But the Franco-German impasse on the policing of the Saar was suddenly and unexpectedly settled. At the December 5 meeting of the League Council, Captain Eden, British delegate, announced that Great Britain would be willing to contribute troops to an international police force to keep order during the Saar vote. Baron Aloisi of Italy phoned Mussolini just an hour before the Council meeting and was authorized to include Italians in the proposed police force. Dutch, Swedish and possibly Belgian contingents will join the rest, but France will have nothing to do with it. Germany readily agreed to a League army, and Franco-German relations are greatly improved.

Britain's offer to aid in policing the Saar is a notable shift from her settled policy of keeping out of continental affairs. She advises but rarely acts. In this instance, she evidently believed preventive measures, however distasteful, were infinitely more desirable than the risk of a Franco-German rupture. The Saar army, consisting of 2,000 to 4,000 troops, will be the first international League force to be organized. It will be watched with interest by certain French statesmen, who have long pleaded for an international army to enforce the decisions of the League of Nations.



HITLER CONFERS WITH HIS AIDES

The Nazi leader in an informal conference with some of his advisers. Left to right: Minister of Interior Frick, Herr Buerckel, Hitler's representative to the Saar, Rudolf Hess, his deputy, and the chancellor himself.

© Acme



As the Editor Sees It

Weekly Reflections on Events, Trends and Movements

By Walter E. Myer

AT Christmas time more than any other there are appeals to our generosity. We are called upon to give charitable aid to those who are unfortunate. It is right that the appeal should be made. It is in keeping with the spirit of the season that we should give to those who are in distress. Under any social system men and women and children will fall sometimes by the wayside and will need help. To refuse such help would be a mockery of the spirit which is supposed to animate us as we celebrate the Christmas festival.

But charity on a wide scale is a poor substitute for the establishment of social conditions under which it may be made unnecessary—unnecessary, that is, save under exceptional circumstances. It is well that we should feed the aged poor. It would be far better if we were to establish a system of old-age pensions under which all might be assured security after the productive years have passed. We should help those who are out of work, but that does not relieve us of the social responsibility of creating a system under which those who do not have work may draw, in an orderly way, upon a fund which has been developed for that purpose.

We should also give thought to our larger economic problems in order that we may develop a stability in society which will make relief of all kinds increasingly unnecessary. We have a moral obligation to be socially intelligent. We cannot ignore the problems of American society and, at the same time, deserve the peace and good cheer which the observance of the Christmas spirit is supposed to bring.

I HOPE that each reader of this paper will feel some sense of personal responsibility when he reads the two main articles, the one dealing with crime and the other with the preservation of peace. If one is not to feel responsibility when he gathers facts of this kind, he might about as well omit all consideration of the facts. It is worthwhile, in a sense, for us to accumulate information merely for the sake of having it. It enables us to engage in conversation more readily and enlivens our interests. It makes life a little more enjoyable. There are, therefore, what we may call cultural advantages which accrue from breadth of knowledge.

But the person who is conscientious cannot be satisfied merely with the attainment of a certain broadmindedness and a wealth of interests. He cannot rest content with what may be called culture. He recognizes the moral obligation which intelligence and information impose upon him. He is impressed by the necessity to help right wrongs and to build a better society. Nor is that all. Conditions of life, the very conditions under which we quietly enjoy our culture, carry with them no guarantee of permanence. If the foundations of stability and security are neglected by those who are intelligent, conditions may change, security may disappear, comforts may vanish, and the opportunity for a retiring enjoyment of cultural advantages may be lost.



THE WONDERING SEASON

—Brown in N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

HOW foolish it would be, for example, for one to be satisfied with the acquisition of knowledge for culture's sake, if his neglect of civic responsibility should be in part responsible for the country's going to war! Comforts vanish when war comes, security is destroyed, all that we consider most dear we are obliged to give up. The sane thing for us to do, then, when we read about threats of war and about roads to peace is to use our influence to create the conditions under which peace is likely to be maintained. There is something here which every individual can do. He can think carefully about what are our great national interests. He can speak out against policies which threaten to carry us into war and which do not promise to guard our vital interests. What profit can come to us, for example, through our becoming embroiled in Asia? Do we not have enough to do at home? Suppose we set out upon an effort to make the life of every man, woman and child in America secure. Suppose we set out upon the effort to bring to every American that condition of well-being described in the note dealing with American living conditions on page two of this paper. That would be a real program, a program which touches vitally every American. That is a challenge to citizenship and statesmanship. Why be deflected from it by fancied imaginary advantages which might conceivably come through military adventure half-way around the world?

If we are going to maintain peace with Japan, it is not enough that we speak abstractly in favor of peace. We must turn away from those national policies which would probably result in war. And one of those policies is the entering into a naval race with the Japanese. Let

NOTICE

This will be the last issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER to appear before the Christmas holidays. Our next date of issue will be January 7. We hope that each of our readers will have a pleasant vacation period and extend our best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

us say that we will protect America, that we will live up to the Kellogg Pact, that we will not send our armies across the seas, but that we will protect our people and our institutions in this country. Then, let us build a navy sufficient to guarantee our national safety. Let us have an armed force which can repel all invaders and then let us not worry about the size of other people's navies, unless they threaten to become large enough to make an invasion of America possible. If we will stand for a policy like that, then we shall have peace. We will be free then to work for social justice and universal prosperity, a goal toward which we need to strive.

LIKEWISE, when you read about crime, do not be satisfied with information to the effect that America is the most lawless of nations. You can do something about it. Certain communities have taken action. Find out what the action is. Find out the courses recommended by those who have given time and thought to the study of crime. Take to yourself the suggestions contained in our main article which deals with crime. Get in touch with organizations which are at work on the subject. Help to support programs of crime prevention in your own community. I am going to quote again a biblical text to which reference was made in an earlier number of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. It is a quotation which former President Theodore Roosevelt used many times. "Be ye doers of the word, not hearers only, deceiving your own selves."

Some of the cities are starting drives against mediums and fortune tellers, but not doing a thing about professional economists, business analysts and prognosticators.

—Burlington HAWKEYE GAZETTE

No wonder the Prince of Wales was the most nervous man at his brother's wedding. He probably realized that his luck might not last forever.

—Philadelphia INQUIRER

Fish come out of the water faucets in some New York homes and the residents complain. Probably because there is no tartar sauce.

—Charleston (W. Va.) DAILY MAIL

One sign that politicians possess a sterling sense of humor is that they often speak of temporary taxes.

—New York SUN

Mussolini has ordered more work for all Italians as a part of his new program. We imagine that he would get tired of doing it all himself after a while.

—Watertown (N. Y.) TIMES



KILLING THE HYDRA

—Elderman in Washington Post

Something to Think About

1. "The question as to whether Japan should have a navy equal to that of the United States or a navy three-fifths as large really does not greatly affect the vital interests of either nation." Is that true? If we wish merely to protect our own territory do we need a navy larger than Japan's? If we wish to force Japan to change her Far Eastern policy, is a navy larger than hers by the ratio of five to three enough?
2. What do you think we might gain by preventing Japan from encroaching upon China? Would the gain be worth a war? Could there be any danger of war if we did not try to block Japan in the Orient?
3. How other than by our own force might we influence Japanese Far Eastern policy?
4. Why do you think crime is more extensive in the United States than in other nations?
5. What does Henry L. Stimson say about crime and punishment in this country as compared with Great Britain?
6. Name as many as you can of the things which should be done to check crime. Are any of them being done in your own community?
7. Is it true in your community that a family should have an income of \$2,500 a year in order to maintain a comfortable standard of living? Do you have any idea what per cent of the families had that much in 1929? What would some of the effects be on your city if all the families had that amount?
8. What is meant by the statement that we may have to raise the incomes and purchasing power of all in order to render society stable and have security for any of us?
9. Describe the war threat which is brewing in the Balkans. How is it being affected by the League of Nations?
10. Compare the objectives of Jacksonian democracy with those of the Roosevelt New Deal.

REFERENCES: (a) Who Belongs in Prison? *Harper's*, August, 1934, pp. 315-327. (b) America's Outworn Criminal Codes. *Current History*, July, 1934, pp. 431-437. (c) Series of 18 articles dealing with every phase of crime appeared in *Christian Science Monitor* daily from October 3 to 23. (d) Naval Problems of 1935. *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1934, pp. 45-58. (e) Articles setting forth the British, American and Japanese naval position in detail appeared in the October, November and December, 1934, issues of *Current History*.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Gottfried Feder (got'fried fay'der—o as in or), Tibor Eckhardt (tee'bor ak'hart—first a as in ate), Ney (nay), Benes (be-naish—e as in yet), Laval (la-val'), Litvinoff (leet-vee'noff—o as in or).

THE AMERICAN OBSERVER

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$2 a calendar year. In clubs for class use, \$1 a school year or 50 cents a semester.

Entered as second-class matter, September 15, 1931, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL BOARD

CHARLES A. BEARD HAROLD G. MOULTON
GEORGE S. COUNTS DAVID S. MUZZEY
WALTER E. MYER, Editor

PAUL D. MILLER, Associate Editor



IN THE course of a year many valuable books appear—books dealing with a variety of subjects. The year 1934 has been no exception. A long list of works dealing with economic and social questions, with politics, with biography and travel, and fiction has been published, and many of them have been reviewed on this page of *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*. We are making a list of some of the most valuable of these 1934 books with the thought that they may be useful to those who would like to do some reading during the Christmas vacation or who would like to make presents of well-chosen books. Our list covers a wide field. Many subjects and different points of view are represented. We feel that any volume in this list represents a contribution to the subject which it touches and we recommend all of them to which we refer to our readers and their friends.

Fiction

Lightship, by Archie Binns, (Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50).

The Folks, by Ruth Suckow, (Farrar and Rinehart. \$3.00).

Mary Peters, by Mary Ellen Chase, (Macmillan. \$2.50).

A Norwegian Family, by Marie Ham-sun, (Lippincott. \$2.00).

The Land of Plenty, by Robert Cant-well, (Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50).

So Red the Rose, by Stark Young, (Scribners. \$2.50).

The Forty Days of Musa Dagh, by Franz Werfel, (Viking. \$3.00).

Fontamara, by Ignazio Silone, (Smith and Haas. \$2.50).

The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze, by William Saroyan, (Random House. \$2.50).

And Quiet Flows the Don, by Mikhail Sholokhov, (Knopf. \$3.00).

The World Outside, by Hans Fallada, (Simon and Schuster. \$2.50).

Now in November, by Josephine John-son, (Simon and Schuster. \$2.00).

February Hill, by Victoria Lincoln, (Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50).

A Nest of Simple Folk, by Sean O'Faolain, (Viking. \$2.50).

Long Remember, by Mackinlay Kan-tor, (Coward, McCann. \$2.50).

Pitcairn's Island, by Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall, (Little, Brown. \$2.50).

The Foundry, by Albert Halper, (Vik-ing. \$2.50).

Dusk at the Grove, by Samuel Rogers, (Little, Brown. \$2.50).

Lust for Life, by Irving Stone, (Long-mans, Green. \$2.50).

Unfinished Cathedral, by T. S. Stripling, (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50).

To the Vanquished, by I. A. R. Wylie, (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50).

Little Orvie, by Booth Tarkington, (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50).

The Balliols, by Alec Waugh, (Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50).

Biography

Experiment in Auto-biography, by H. G. Wells, (Macmillan. \$4.00).

Oliver Cromwell, by John Buchan, (Houghton, Mifflin. \$4.50).

James G. Blaine, by David S. Muzzey, (Dodd, Mead. \$4.00).

R. E. Lee, by Douglas Southall Freeman, 2 vol-umes, (Scribner's. \$7.50).



THE ROAD TO CHRISTMAS

From a woodcut by J. J. Lankes, Courtesy Weyhe Galleries.

A Backward Glance, by Edith Whar-ton, (Appleton. \$3.00).

Forty-two Years in the White House, by Ike Hoover, (Houghton, Mifflin. \$3.50).

The Robber Barons, by Matthew Jo-sephson, (Harcourt, Brace. \$3.00).

Retreat from Glory, by R. H. Bruce Lockhart, (Putnam. \$3.00).

A Chinese Testament, by S. Tretia-kov, (Simon and Schuster. \$3.00).

The Native's Return, by Louis Adamic, (Harper. \$2.75).

Victoria, the Widow and Her Son, by Hector Bolitho, (Appleton. \$5.00).

C. P. Scott of the Manchester Guard-ian, by J. L. Hammond, (Harcourt, Brace \$3.75).

Chester A. Arthur: A Quarter Century of Machine Politics, (Dodd, Mead. \$4.00).

Curzon: The Last Phase, 1919-1924, by Harold Nicolson, (Houghton, Mifflin. \$4.00).

My Own Story, by Marie Dressler, (Little, Brown. \$2.50).

History

The Pageant of Cuba, by Hudson Strode, (Smith and Haas. \$3.00).

America's Tragedy, by James Truslow Adams, (Scribner's. \$3.00).

The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Doug-las and the Needless War, by George Fort Milton, (Houghton, Mifflin. \$5.00).

Freedom Versus Organization: 1814-

1914, by Bertrand Russell, (Norton. \$3.50).

A History of the Great War, by C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, (Oxford University Press. \$5.50).

Fifty Years of Europe, by J. A. Spend-er, (Stokes. \$5.00).

Fire in the Andes, by Carleton Beals, (Lippincott. \$3.00).

Politics and Economics

The Idea of National Interest and The Open Door at Home, by Charles A. Beard, (Macmillan. \$3.00 each).

America's Capacity to Produce, by Edwin G. Nourse and Associates, (Brook-ings Institution. \$3.50).

America's Capacity to Consume, by Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton and Clark Warburton, (Brookings Institution. \$3.00).

Property or Peace, by H. N. Brails-ford, (Covici, Friede. \$3.00).

Security Speculation, by John T. Flynn, (Harcourt, Brace. \$3.00).

The Coming American Revolution, by George Soule, (Macmillan. \$3.00).

A Short History of the New Deal by Louis Hacker, (Crofts. \$1.75).

Hitler Over Europe, by Ernst Henri, (Simon and Schuster. \$1.90).

Russia's Iron Age, by William Henry Chamberlin, (Little, Brown. \$4.00).

The Decline of American Capitalism, by Lewis Corey, (Covici, Friede. \$4.00).

The Quest for Security, by I. M. Ru-binow, (Holt. \$3.50).

China's Red Army Marches by Agnes Smedley, (Vanguard. \$2.50).

Fascism and Social Revolution, by R. Palme Dutt, (International. \$2.25).

Merchants of Death, by H. C. Engel-breht and F. C. Hanighen, (Dodd, Mead. \$2.50).

Human Exploitation, by Norman Thomas, (Stokes. \$2.75).

The Economy of Abundance, by Stuart Chase, (Macmillan. \$2.50).

Studies in World Economics, by G. D. H. Cole, (Macmillan. \$4.75).

New Frontiers, by Henry A. Wallace, (Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.00).

Japan in Crisis, by Harry Emerson Wildes, (Macmillan. \$2.00).

The Roosevelt Omnibus, edited by Don Wharton, (Knopf. \$3.00).

The Pageant of Chinese History, by Elizabeth Seeger, (Longmans, Green. \$3.00).

Empire in the East, edited by Joseph Barnes, (Doubleday, Doran. \$3.25).

New Governments in Europe—Italy, Russia, Germany, Spain, the Baltic States, edited by Raymond Leslie Buell, (Nelson. \$2.50).

The Twilight of the Supreme Court, by Edward S. Corwin, (Yale University Press. \$2.50).

The Saar Struggle, by Michael T. Florinsky, (Macmillan. \$2.00).

American State Government and Ad-ministration, by Austin F. Macdonald, (Crowell. \$3.75).

Roosevelt Versus Recovery, by Ralph Robey, (Harpers. \$2.00).

Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area, edited by Frederick V. Field, (Doubleday, Doran. \$5.00).

Travel and Adventure

The Cingalese Prince, by Brooks At-kinson, (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50).

South of the Sun, by Russell Owen, (John Day. \$2.50).

Turkestan Reunion, by Eleanor Latti-more, (John Day. \$2.75).

One's Company, by Peter Fleming, (Scribner's. \$2.75).

Fiesta in Mexico, by Erna Fergusson, (Knopf. \$3.00).

The Secret Kingdom, by Ben James, (Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.75).

A Conquest of Tibet, by Sven Hedin, (Dutton. \$5.00).

The Valley of the Assassins, by Freya Stark, (Dutton. \$4.00).

South to Cadiz, by H. M. Tomlinson, (Harpers. \$2.00).

Tents in Mongolia, by Henning Has-lund, (Dutton. \$5.00).

Miscellaneous

Modern Fiction, by Dorothy Brewster and Angus Burrell, (Columbia University Press. \$2.75).

Exile's Return, by Malcolm Cowley, (Nor-ton. \$3.00).

The Age of Inno-cence, by Henry Seidel Canby, (Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50).

City Editor, by Stan-ley Walker, (Stokes. \$3.00).

Mobilizing for Chaos. The Story of the New Propaganda, by O. W. Riegel, (Yale University Press. \$2.50).

Trains, by R. S. Hen-ry, (Bobbs-Merrill. \$2.50).

The Great Design, by fourteen eminent scien-tists, edited by Frances Ma-son, (Macmillan. \$2.50).



"A CHRISTMAS FAMILY PARTY! WE KNOW NOTHING IN NATURE MORE DELIGHTFUL!"

From an old print by Seymour, one of Dickens' illustrators.

A Nation-Wide Battle Against Crime

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH
THE PROBLEM

than that. They find the primary cause of lawlessness and violence in the social and economic conditions which conduce to anti-social practices.

Economic Factors

The importance of these economic factors in causing crime has recently been dramatically brought out in a series of articles by leading experts on crime and criminology published in the *Christian Science Monitor*. As a result of this survey, the *Monitor* has brought forward a comprehensive program of reforms which will have to be made if we are ever to get at the real causes of crime. Because of the sweeping and concrete nature of these proposals, we are quoting liberally from them:

Correction of abuses and neglects under the capitalist system, especially in its emphasis upon selfish acquisition rather than social service, and upon materialistic yardsticks of success, instead of spiritual standards.

Adequate wages, security of family life, and wholesome housing, achieved through governmental supervision of industry and public works such as slum clearance, wherever necessary.

Prevention of so-called "legal" devices for defrauding the public, such as the essential criminality involved in stock-market gambling, flouting of depositors' money in defaulting banks, and so on.

Clean, invigorating work for everyone, to remove the criminal motive bred of desperation. This work normally should be provided by the industrial and economic structure, but work relief is needed in times of industrial unemployment.

Governmental activities to save homes, such as home owners' loan funds.

A more evenly distributed prosperity, to avoid periods of economic slump with increased incentives to crime.

Elimination of sweatshops and child labor.

Decentralization of industry, to give workers more wholesome housing conditions and a garden.

Transfer of farmers from submarginal lands to fertile ones.

Social insurance; retirement pensions to prevent advanced workers from feeling bitter toward an economic system which forces them out at a certain age without adequate means of subsistence, and also to make room for young workers as they come on; sickness insurance; unemployment insurance and so on.

Social Remedies

Coordination of agencies of all sorts equipped to determine the causes of crime and work out remedies for each cause. Periodical meetings have proved successful, attended by superintendent of schools, chief of police, chief probation officer, superintendent of playgrounds and representatives of social organizations such as settlements and boys' clubs.

Intensive educational work in the press, motion pictures, schools and other instrumentalities to bring about right public attitudes toward crime and its causes.

A better adjustment between home and school.

The exclusion of unnecessary crime details and pictures of criminals from newspapers.

Attractive neighborhood playgrounds with amusement halls for dances and entertainments and opportunity for the young people to have a social life under guidance.

Education for the happy and beneficial uses of leisure.

Programs of character education in the home, school, church and neighborhood that will reach out to all community conditions.

Avoidance of unjust punishment of children, which builds up rebellion against all authority.

Shift of emphasis in crime conferences from punishment and cure to prevention of causes.

Organization of state and other bar associations to prevent lawyer-criminals from practicing.

In spite of the extent and gravity of crime in this country, the public has simply refused to become aroused. The majority of people have sat back, refusing to take any part, even to the extent of voting intelligently, in the effort to deal with this problem. More serious than this is the frequent glorification of the criminal in the press and in movie houses. These phases of the crime problem were forcibly brought out in Mr. Stimson's address before the national conference on crime. In speaking of some of the causes of crime, he said:

Dramatization of Crime

A very important one of these causes is our mental attitude as a nation toward violent crime and violent criminals. Perhaps the origin of this attitude is partly traditional. Perhaps it arises out of the fact that we have been so recently a frontier people accustomed to Indian fighting and the rough life of a country while it was still uncivilized. Perhaps the underworld today has taken in our imaginations the place of the old frontier, and the sordid Dillingers and "Baby Face" Nelsons of today excite atavistic emotions dating back to the time when our Daniel Boones and Davy Crocketts performed a real service for a frontier people. It is not unnatural for the boys of a country which has recently lost its frontier to be excited and stimulated by tales of danger and thrilling adventure. But it is certainly all wrong for such a spirit to be fanned up artificially by the engines of a sensational press, by the enterprising photographers who record all the horrid details of crime, by the movies and by the other modern instruments of mob excitation. Under these influences we have become sentimental over crime to an hysterical degree which is largely responsible for the breakdown of our system of justice. Such an attitude strikes at the root of punishment and removes to a very large degree its deterrent influence against crime. It tends to exalt the criminal and make him pose as a hero instead of the abhorrent creature that he is. It enters into and mars and delays every step of the judicial procedure leading up to his conviction, tending to make it a drama centered about a man fighting for his life instead of the dignified essential work of a community protecting itself against violence. Such an attitude is entirely unnecessary in a nation of our race, our language and our legal antecedents.

Let me give you an illustration of a very different kind of administration of justice which came to my personal observation ten years ago. In the summer of 1924 the American Bar Association received an hospitable invitation to visit and be entertained by its professional brethren of the British bar. Some 3,500 American lawyers from all parts of this country accepted that invitation and made

a trip to Great Britain. Just as we were leaving home a brutal murder, which in this country would be called highly sensational, occurred in England. Its details filled the American newspapers as we went to our ship. We were less than seven days at sea. When on a Saturday we landed at Southampton, we found that the criminal had already been apprehended, an indictment had already been duly found, all of the preliminary preparations for trial had already been made, and the trial itself had been set for the following Monday. A large part of our delegation attended the trial as spectators. In America the mere impaneling of a jury in such a case would have been a matter of days or perhaps weeks. In England it lasted a few minutes. The trial itself lasted only two days, and by Tuesday afternoon the case had been finished, the counsel had summed up, the judge had charged and the jury had rendered a verdict of guilty.

English Methods

The defendant took an appeal. That alone in this country would have involved a further delay of months. In England his appeal was heard on the following Thursday. It was heard by a very eminent court, presided over by the Lord Chief Justice of England. The defendant's objections were argued with terseness and clearness by his counsel, listened to with care by the court, and by Thursday evening a decision was rendered from the bench overruling them. Our visit to London lasted for one week, the week during which this trial had been going on, and we had hardly left London and separated on our various ways when the press briefly announced that this convicted criminal had been hanged in the Old Bailey prison.

So far as I can remember, there was absolutely no indication of drama either attempted or allowed. No sentimental life histories were published. No prison matrons or prosecutors were photographed with their arms around the prisoner's neck. When I saw the defendant at the bar of the court, though he was represented by most eminent counsel, he stood the loneliest figure in the world—a man who had defied the law of England. There was no doubt about the sentiments of the community in respect to a man who had committed that offense. The whole proceeding from beginning to end was an example of deterrent justice and it certainly made that impression upon the members of the American Bar who witnessed it.

Mr. Stimson urged that the conference study means to eliminate "this artificially excited false psychology." Other problems considered by the conference were methods by which local law-enforcement agencies within a state could cooperate with each other and coordinate their efforts in tracking down criminals who move swiftly from one community to another. As it is at present, there is very little cooperation between these local agencies in most states. It was suggested by several speakers at the conference that the states which do not have state police forces should organize them.

Then, too, it was recommended that states cooperate with each other in dealing with criminals by forming interstate



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH
THE REMEDY

pacts. The states which join into these pacts could exchange information with each other and, in numerous other ways, work together in the apprehension of criminals.

Finally, there should be a closer cooperation between federal, state and local law-enforcement agencies. The federal government has proved that it can track down certain types of criminals more surely and quickly than local forces. Attorney General Cummings does not want to expand the federal police power because he feels that crime is primarily a local problem. However, he does feel that a close coordination among federal, state and local police agencies could not but help stamp out a large portion of crime. In order to bring these various agencies into closer harmony, he urged the conference to take steps to establish a national institute of criminology.

This institute would act as a great national scientific and educational center for work in this field. It would assemble, digest and translate into practical form all pertinent material relating to the problem of crime. It would educate civic organizations in different parts of the country as to the nature and availability of these materials, and how they might be used locally to improve the administration of criminal justice and to help in the prevention of criminality. It would conduct a training school where specially qualified officers, federal, state and municipal, might study scientific methods of crime repression. In brief, it would be a great national clearing house to coordinate the efforts of all those who are actively interested in wiping out this blemish in our society.

(Students who desire to obtain copies of the resolutions passed at the national conference on crime and other material relating thereto, may do so by writing to the press division of the United States Department of Justice.)

BEHIND THE NAVAL TALKS

(Concluded from page 7, column 4)

position by securing territory in China. It is not certain that a grant of naval equality would have any weight in inducing them to moderate their Chinese policy. But it is at least an outside possibility that such would be the result.

There appears little reason to believe that an insistence upon maintaining a larger navy than Japan's would help us to prevent Japanese aggressive policies in the Far East. We can build a larger navy than Japan can if we choose to do so because of our superior wealth. We can do this whether the Japanese consent to it or not. But it is difficult to see how such action on our part could possibly strengthen American foreign policies or contribute to the safety of American vital interests.



THE AGENCY

The Department of Justice is developing a staff of experts in scientific crime detection, under J. Edgar Hoover. Scene in the interior of the new Department of Justice building which houses all the latest facilities to aid in the war on crime.

© U. & U.

The Issues Behind the Naval Talks

(Continued from page 1, column 4)

how large our navy should be, or as to how powerful it should be in comparison with other navies, we should decide another point. We should answer the question as to what we expect to use our navy for. If we plan to use it merely to defend ourselves, to prevent invaders from landing on our soil, then a relatively small navy would be sufficient for us. If, on the other hand, we want a navy large enough so that it can go halfway around the world, so that it can go into Asiatic waters and defeat the Japanese at their own doors, then we must have a very much larger navy.

Conflict of Policies

What, then, do we expect of our navy? Do we look upon it as an instrument of self-defense, or as an instrument whereby we may engage successfully in an offensive war, carried on in the enemy's territory? That question carries us into a discussion of the whole Far Eastern problem. If the United States ever gets into trouble with Japan, it will be because of Japanese aggression in China. There is a clear conflict between Japanese and American policy in that territory. The United States government for about 35 years has undertaken to preserve Chinese territory from foreign invaders. We have sought to maintain the independence of China. We have insisted that the commerce of China shall be open to all nations on equal terms. Japan has time and again gone against those policies. During the last few years, she has seized Manchuria and transformed it into a subordinate state. She has penetrated into China elsewhere and threatens to go further. The Japanese are absolutely determined to go on with their aggressive Chinese policy. They look upon themselves in a sense as overlords of the Far East. They resent meddling by outsiders. They say that their policy in the Far East is similar to the American Monroe Doctrine in the western hemisphere, and they look upon intrusion by the United States or any other nation as being offensive to them. There is no chance that they can be induced to give up their policy by moral persuasion. They can be persuaded to give it up only by the use of force or the threat of force.

To Avoid Entanglements

Under these circumstances, there are several courses which the United States may adopt. We may, if we choose, give up our effort to maintain Chinese independence or the open door. We may deplore violations of Chinese integrity, but

we may say that, after all, that is out of our domain and our jurisdiction. We may say that we will develop our commerce in a peaceful way and take care of our own people in our own country. We will protect the American mainland, Alaska and Hawaii, but we will not try to enforce our ideas of justice in China or anywhere in Asia.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether this policy should be adopted. Some think that if we kept hands off China and allowed Japan to do as she pleased, she would so manage Chinese affairs as to deprive us of some Chinese trade. Others doubt this. They say it would not be to Japan's interest to interfere with our trade. They point to the fact that we sell far more to Japan and buy far more from Japan than we sell to or buy from China. A strong argument can be made to the effect that we would lose no important advantage by steering clear of Asiatic politics.

If we adopt this course and give up the attempt to exercise influence in the determination of Far Eastern affairs, we can get along with a small navy. If our object is to protect our own vital national interests and to do that alone, we could look on with complacency while Japan built a navy not only as large as ours but twice as large, for the Japanese would have to have a navy even larger than that in order to come over to our Pacific coast or even to Hawaii and defeat us. If, then, we are to avoid entanglement in Asiatic political affairs, we can grant Japan's demand for naval equality and thus avoid a dangerous race in naval armaments without any loss whatever.

If We Use Force

But there is another course which we may follow. We may, if we choose, say that we will preserve Chinese independence and maintain the open door and that, if necessary, we will do it alone and by force. To do that we will have to go into Asiatic waters and defeat the Japanese at their own doors. If such is our purpose, it will do no good merely to build a navy which stands in relation to Japan's navy as five to three. To go to Asia and defeat Japan we would need a navy from three to five times as large as Japan's. To accomplish

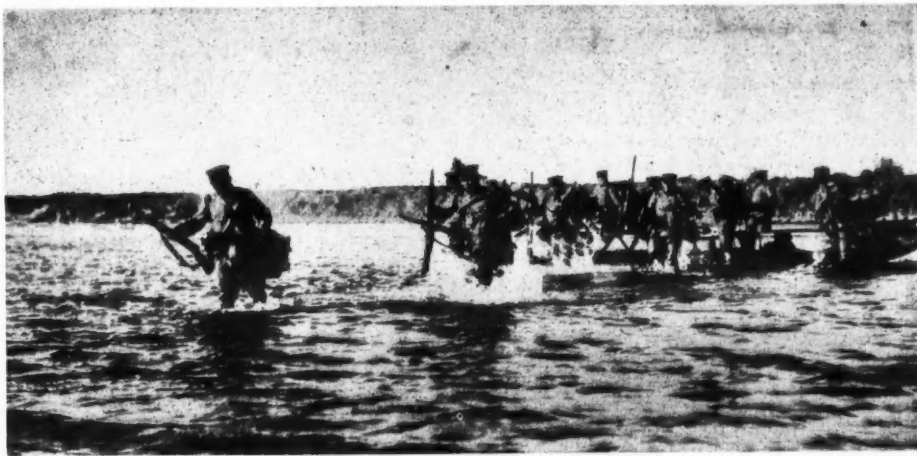
that purpose we would have to set to work at once to build by far the most powerful navy which has ever been contemplated by any nation. If that is our object, it really makes no difference whether the naval ratios are 5:5:3 or 5:5:5, for in neither case could we go to Japan and defeat her.

Another possible program is this: We may say that we will undertake to maintain Chinese independence and the open door and to prevent Japanese aggression, but that we will not try to do it alone. We will work with other nations and induce them to oppose Japanese aggres-

sive acts. The League of Nations took a strong stand against Japan two years ago and seemed at the point of undertaking to coerce Japan and force her to give up her aggressions in Manchuria—at least to try an economic boycott or some other form of coercion. The United States might at that time have secured united action by the governments belonging to the League of Nations, if she had agreed in advance to cooperate with them. But our government was not a member of the League and

chaos such as the world has not yet known.

Here is another point which we must consider. The United States has signed an agreement known as the Kellogg or the Paris Pact, by which we say we will never use force as an instrument of national policy. We reserve the right to use force to protect ourselves, but we say we will never use it to carry out any of our policies. By signing the Kellogg Pact, the nations take the position that controversial questions affecting national policies are matters which



JAPANESE WAR MANEUVERS

© Acme

Alive to the responsibilities which Japanese expansionist policy has placed on their shoulders, army leaders in Japan are sparing no efforts in building up the nation's fighting equipment.

did not agree to cooperate. So the movement to force Japan to conform to a Far Eastern program in keeping with American desires and policies failed.

Cooperation a Possibility

We might now join the League of Nations. That is what Russia did when she wanted to be assured of the moral support of the European nations in case she should find herself at war with Japan. There is, of course, strong sentiment in the United States against such a close cooperation with the League and its members. But if we want to carry out our Far Eastern policies and do not want to pay the price of trying to enforce them alone, there seems no other way than cooperation with the League of Nations members.

There is still another policy we might pursue. Perhaps it is the one we will pursue. We may refuse to grant Japan the right to build a navy as large as ours. This may result in a naval armament race. We may undertake to outbuild Japan, without going to the extreme of building a navy large enough to compel Japan to respect our Far Eastern policies. In that case we cannot enforce our Far Eastern policies, but we can continue to assert them. If, at the same time, we do not cooperate with the League of Nations, we will not have our policies put into effect. We will not stop Japanese aggression. We will accomplish nothing of a material nature. A strain will be created, however, between the United States and Japan. The people of both countries will be angry and suspicious. Each will undertake to fortify islands in the Pacific which might be used as bases against the other. After a few years of this kind of controversy and fruitless antagonism, unpleasant incidents would probably occur and they might easily lead to war.

If, under these circumstances, war should come, the Japanese could not defeat us in our waters and we could not defeat them in their waters. The war would be inconclusive, except that in time and at tremendous cost to ourselves, we might possibly be able to strangle the Japanese economically, inasmuch as we buy most of their silk and sell them most of the raw cotton with which their mills operate. Before that happened, however, other nations would probably be drawn into the struggle so that we would find ourselves in the midst of another world war—a world war which would probably bring other depressions in its wake and perhaps economic

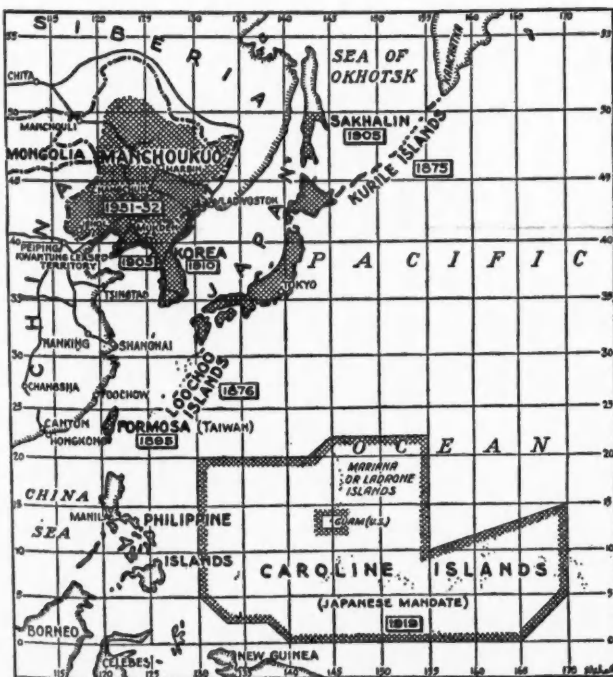
no one nation can decide legally by going to war. These matters must be decided by some kind of international action—arbitration, perhaps.

The United States could not build a navy large enough to defeat Japan and then go to Asiatic waters and whip the Japanese and thus force them to recognize the independence of China without violating the Kellogg Pact. If we are going to hold to our treaty obligations, the notion of forcing the Japanese to give up aggression in China is, then, entirely out of the picture. There remain but two other possibilities of legal action. One is that we stand aside entirely and exercise no influence in the Far East which we cannot exercise by diplomatic persuasion, and the other is that we bring our demand for the independence of China and the open door in China before the nations of the world and undertake to get them to act together, either through the League of Nations or otherwise. Japan, of course, is violating the Kellogg Pact when she takes aggressive action in China, but no one nation, except China, has the legal right to call her to account. The Kellogg Pact signatories, acting collectively, might do so.

What May Happen

How does all this discussion of our foreign policies affect our decision about the navy? It affects it in this way: If we adopt a policy of protecting ourselves and not interfering abroad, it makes no difference whether the naval ratio is 5:5:3 or 5:5:5 because we can protect ourselves in either case. If we are to check Japanese aggression in the Far East by force, the present argument over naval strength is of no consequence. Neither ratio, neither 5:5:3 nor 5:5:5, would be sufficient to enable us to carry out our policy. If our plan is to affect Far Eastern affairs and to check Japanese aggression through consultation and cooperation with other nations, it is probably not very important whether our navy is a little larger than Japan's or the same size. There would probably be a better chance of inducing Japan peacefully to check her aggression if we did not insist upon maintaining a larger navy. The Japanese at present are afraid of us. They are afraid that, because of our great wealth and superior population, we may at some time build a great navy and attack them. This fear stiffens their determination to expand their military and naval forces and to strengthen their economic

(Concluded on page 6, column 4)



THE GROWING JAPANESE EMPIRE

From "The Tinder Box of Asia," by George E. Sokolsky (Doubleday, Doran).



WHEN one comes upon the Jacksonian period of our history, he is likely to find so many interesting and important developments that he cannot easily determine which have lasting significance and which were important only during that period. The fact of the matter is that there were so many problems raised during those eight years that have cropped up time and again in our history that the student could spend weeks covering the era. We might talk, for example, of the controversy over the central bank—a controversy which has by no means been settled in our own day. We might discuss at some length the origin and theories of the spoils system which began with the inauguration of Andrew Jackson. The controversy between Jackson and the Supreme Court offers another fertile field for the study of recurring problems. Jackson's political philosophy is another ideal subject for such treatment. In brief, any one of a dozen things which happened during the Jackson period might be used by the student of American history in his quest for knowledge on permanent American problems. We shall be obliged to confine our study this week to a few of the outstanding developments of a century ago which are unusually vital in our national life today.

Importance of problems raised in Jackson's day

In the first place, it should be remembered that Jackson inaugurated a really new period in American history. Jacksonian democracy is not a meaningless term applied to the two administrations of our seventh president. It constituted, in fact, a break from anything we had known up to that time. The nearest thing to it before Jackson's day was the theory and practice of government held and put into operation by Jefferson. But there was a marked difference between Jacksonian and Jeffersonian democracy. Jefferson truly believed in democracy and frowned upon the aristocratic views of the Federalists. But, at the same time, he was not a democrat in the sense that Jackson was, for he believed that the actual work of government should be carried on by trained workers. The people should, of course, elect their representatives, but they should not have a voice in determining governmental policies. That was the function of the officials. Government was representative, but not direct.

JACKSON held different views. To him, government should be direct. The people themselves should rule. The wishes of the people should be implicitly carried out. There was nothing very complicated about the work of government. As many people as possible should be given work with the government. That is why Jackson started the practice of rotation of office, by which one man served a term and was replaced by another. That is why the spoils system was instituted, or it is at least one reason why it was. The government, in Jackson's conception, was to be really a government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

Some fundamental concepts of Jacksonian democracy

Moreover, Jackson brought with him a new conception of the presidency. To him, the president was the channel through which the people's wishes should be carried out. He was their representative. He stood above both the legislative branch of the government—Congress—and the judicial branch—the Supreme Court. In trying

Jacksonian Democracy and the New Deal

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

to put into effect these views he became involved in many a scrape with both the other branches, but he was determined to carry out his theories of presidential leadership.

All this was more or less consonant with the conditions under which Andrew Jackson had been elected. It was the people of the South and the West that had elected him to office. He interpreted his election as a mandate from the people to inaugurate policies which would benefit the masses, the "forgotten man" of that day, rather than the privileged classes. Upon his shoulders was placed the responsibility of breaking up monopoly and special privilege, of launching what might properly be called a "new deal" for the country.

WHILE differing in many details, there is nevertheless a striking similarity between the conditions which ushered in Jackson democracy and those which brought us the present New Deal. In the days of Jackson there was a bitter feeling against the industrial and financial interests of the eastern section of the country. Rightly or wrongly, the people felt that government was being used as a tool by these interests to further selfish ends. That is why they were so strongly opposed to the bank. Again in our own day, the people, rightly or wrongly, felt that many of their woes were due to the fact that government had been acting in the interests of the business and financial sections of the population. After the crash of 1929, Wall Street and all it stood for in the people's minds became the villain in the depression drama that was unfolding itself. The view gained currency that government should be reorganized in such a way as to strip the industrialists and financiers of their power and to inaugurate a policy designed to benefit the common man. In the campaign Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to make political capital of this widespread popular discontent by promising a "new deal" to the "forgotten man."

Comparison with conditions which led to New Deal

The resemblance between the personalities of the two presidents is unusual. Although Andrew Jackson and Franklin D. Roosevelt differ as much in social, economic and cultural background as any two men possibly could, they both hold common political gifts. Jackson had the rare ability to sense the public issues which would appeal to the people and to arouse popular enthusiasm for them. Few presidents have excelled Franklin D. Roosevelt in that respect. The general enthusiasm he has stirred in his recovery program is abundant evidence of that ability. Jackson made the common people feel that he was their friend and was working for their good. Roosevelt has been able to do the same thing. He has repeatedly let it be known that the government will be run from Washington and not from New York.

Jackson conceived the presidential role to be more than that of an executor of the laws enacted by Congress. He felt that the president should take a leading part in shaping legislation. This conception of the presidential func-

tion has been carried to a further degree by President Roosevelt than any other occupant of the White House in recent times. Under the New Deal Congress has taken its cue from the president to an extent undreamed of a few years ago.

JACKSON stood for changes in our political and economic practices when such were deemed necessary for the common good. Roosevelt has never felt himself compelled to adhere to the traditional way of doing things, and has been prompt to embark upon policies definitely experimental in nature. Jackson depended upon the advice of men outside his regular cabinet in launching new poli-

Personalities of Jackson and Roosevelt compared

cies. He was in constant touch with his "kitchen cabinet," a group of close friends whose views on public questions Jackson respected. Roosevelt, even before his inauguration, leaned heavily upon experts to shape his program and since that time has been constantly in touch with his so-called "brain trust."

Of course, it would be dangerous and misleading to carry the parallel between the two presidents too far. While, as we have pointed out, many of the problems confronting the nation during the thirties of the last century were similar to those with which we are faced at the present time, the fundamental conditions of the nation were widely different. During the Jacksonian era, the country was in a state of dynamic development. The West had only begun to be opened to settlement and economic exploitation. Jackson was obliged to cope with no such thing as a recovery from depression. The depression with which his successor, Martin Van Buren, had to deal was not foreseen during the heyday of Jacksonian democracy. Many historians feel that the very policies inaugurated during the two Jacksonian administrations, especially the opposition to and destruction of the central bank, were the primary cause of the crash which came in 1837. It was the mission of Andrew Jackson to bring to the nation a new conception of political democracy.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S problems are of a different nature. His problems lie primarily in the economic field. Having been elected at the peak of the worst depression in our history, it has become his task to restore prosperity to the nation. But more than that, he had pledged himself to inaugurate those reforms necessary to greater economic justice and security for the masses of the people. It might well be said that he has set as his major task the establishment of economic democracy, using government as a tool to regulate the economic forces of the nation for the benefit of all. Unlike Jackson, he does not look upon government as a work so simple that anyone can administer it. To him, it is highly complicated and technical. For that reason, he has called into the service a corps of specialists and advisors to carry out new programs and policies. But like Jackson, he has interpreted his election as a mandate from the people to inaugurate reforms which departed from the traditional customs of the past. Jacksonian democracy was, in the political field, to the people of a century ago what the New Deal undertakes to be, in the economic field, to the people of the present day.

Economic democracy goal of Roosevelt administration

Following sweeping political reforms under which the elective franchise has been greatly extended and new industrial towns have won representation in parliament, a widespread reaction against the Whig (Liberal) party has set in. Lord Melbourne's cabinet has been overthrown and replaced by a Conservative cabinet led by Sir Robert Peel. A Tory veteran, the Duke of Wellington, will be one of his councillors. Peel announces that the new political reforms will be upheld, but that the government will not give way to "every popular impression of the day." He promises the redress of any abuses that anyone may claim.

The Liberal opposition group in the Spanish Chamber of Procuradores has sent a petition to Queen Isabella II asking her to recognize the independence of Spain's former colonies in South America. The legislators point out the trade advantages likely to ensue and cite English recognition of the United States as a precedent.

Athens is henceforth to be the capital of Greece and her ancient Pantheon is to be restored. It is five years since Greece won her independence from Turkey and a year since Prince Otto of Bavaria was chosen to rule Greece as "King of the Hellenes."

In a special message to Congress, President Andrew Jackson announced that he had sent the congressional message of sympathy to the son of General Lafayette upon the death of his father. The president added a tribute to

Lafayette, hailing him as the "great friend and benefactor of our country." He set aside December 31, 1834, for an oration on the life and character of Lafayette, to be delivered by John Quincy Adams.

Recently the tavern keepers of Jefferson City, capital of Missouri, decided to raise the price of board to \$5 a week. Resolutions were thereupon introduced in both houses of the state legislature to adjourn to some other place. The landlords then lowered their price to \$4 a week and the legislators are reconsidering.

Comment in the New York Advertiser: "We are very gratified at seeing by the Charleston papers that the controversy about state rights by which the state of South Carolina has been so long disturbed, has been amicably settled." But John Caldwell Calhoun, champion of states' rights, has just been elected by South Carolina to another six year term in the Senate.

Unusual heat in Switzerland has melted a glacier in the Canton of Uri, revealing the body of a young man who perished thirteen years ago. The ice has kept the body perfectly preserved.

The rumors of a possible war with France over our debt claim continue. The Senate is considering a bill proposed by Daniel Webster in which he suggests a commission be appointed to determine the extent of the claim.

Lord Byron's dramatic poem, "Manfred," was produced at Covent Garden in London this week. It was declared a decided success.

Glimpses of the Past

A Hundred Years Ago This Week